13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enk-ag*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *ol-mara*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-tainishu*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *nirit*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. *On account of its high ritual value, milk* may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 90 sheep and goats, and 10 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6
Masai FL 12

D 539

supported the roof with his fore-paws, for he had no tusks. Whereupon the wart-hog said: 'You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up.' The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

(History does not relate how long the lion remained holding up the roof before he realised that he had been duped by the cunning wart-hog. This story is very popular and is always received with roars of laughter.)[1]

D [539]

M 539 829

The Dorobo plays the part of buffoon or low comedian in many Masai folk-tales.[2] The Dorobo themselves are well aware of this and regard it as a huge joke. A tale told by a Masai in which a Dorobo figures in an absurd light generally elicits hearty applause from the Dorobo present. I select the following example.

M 539

The Dorobo and the Cow.—The Dorobo is an impatient man. Once he was given a cow, and some days afterwards this cow was crossed by a bull. The Dorobo waited a month. Then he waited another month. He tried to milk the cow, but no milk would come. He thereupon said: "What sort of a cow is this? It will not give birth; it has no milk; it is altogether unsatisfactory." He then went away to sleep, saying: "Perhaps it will have given birth by the time it is morning." In the morning, all was as it had been before and the efforts of the Dorobo to milk the cow met with no more success. The Dorobo, who was determined at least to obtain milk, thereupon seized his knife and split up the cow's udder (for all Dorobo are impatient men), but no milk came, and his knife penetrating too deeply, the intestines of the cow fell out and it died. The Dorobo was very surprised and said: "This is a bad kind of cow and I do not understand it." He then proceeded to eat the meat until it was all finished.

R 171 538

I was surprised to discover so little resemblance between *Mósiro* folk-lore and folk-tales and those of the Nandi as given in Sir Claud Hollis's book. There is more affinity between the *Mósiro* and the Masai in this respect. This may perhaps be explained by the comparatively long period the *Mósiro* must

[1] [Some Bantu tribes tell it of the Hare.—A. W.]
[2] For further examples of this see Hollis.

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

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[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-
101 Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandorobo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be called: ol opén l eh gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
419 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
184 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
M siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo,
[144] they have completely kept their original character traits. Their imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in
M courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numer-
[648] ous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
• 829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
231 each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
498 vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
731 again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Asi. Most of them, just like the El ashi, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they still kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

D 105 /9 cont./ dependency on them. A caravan travelling across the steppes certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandoróbo roaming about everywhere. /10/ Their betrayal soon causes it to fall victim to the spoils-hungry Masai. Through their poverty and the contemptible endeavor to make up for the lack of slaughter animals through the killing of game, the Wandoróbo, to be sure, stand especially low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow tribesmen to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandoróbo, as well as El lumbus and El mull, admission into their community.

M 101 184 1977 In recent times those Masai who, after the loss of their livestock, have become detached from the larger community and live in small kraals in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the El dombbo, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches -- Aná, El sálit, El gasunk. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on these, they also cultivate maize, batatas, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

M 648 The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandoróbo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural level: what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyse why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of individual Negroes surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

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M 614 [186] /18/ The 'L aiok and El molelian to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El molo gana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gunak (1)

M [192] 1. 'N dalata, glutton, en gunak, the mouth: by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Eig-adji-nagil-aisi (2).

M [192] 2. ; the house of the hard teeth: nagil a hard, ai aisi, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eig adji ai masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El molo gana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M 613 The El leelje and El gurá are not infrequently designated as El kingeia, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os nagil. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 [613] [189] The most commanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the El gilidi, because both the family of the chief (ai oibonî) and that of the sorcerer (ai gotaiok) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the ai oibonî does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: he firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the decisions of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Aoli also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

M [229] •

D [71]

/109 cont./

728 648 lasting conclusion of friendship between Europeans and Masai so completely impossible, both on the basis of an experience of almost eight years and also according to the statements of a large number of Masai, who, in the course of a long personal acquaintance, gained so much confidence as to express themselves frankly about this point.

• [129] According to their view a friendship, in whatever form it might be concluded, would only ever have the result that individual persons in the service of the Europeans concerned would find a hospitable reception in the Masai kraals. It could no more bring about a lasting friendship than it would induce the Masai to follow the orders and the laws of the Europeans.

[139] On the other hand, if the Masai seriously mean peace because the tribe warred upon lives close to them and they are dependent on it for buying vegetable food there (as, for example, in the above-mentioned Kahe), they make an ertana eishaechage ñ gera = suckling of exchanged children. After they have sent off an old man, as before, and he has returned together with a few foreign old men, it is agreed in consultation that the Kahe chief, a Kahe woman with a suckling child, and a number /10?/ of witnesses should come to a certain designated place in the steppe between Kahe and the Masai kraals. At the appointed time, there will also be found there a woman from the Masai (not a true Masai, however, but one from another tribe captured in a previous war) with a suckling child, as well as the speaker, the leaders, and other warriors as witnesses. The two women now exchange their children, and each puts the foreign child to her breast for a moment. They then take the children on their backs in the leather apron and conclude blood friendship with each other. One of the witnesses makes a few incisions in the skin of the abdomen of each of the two women and hands her a small piece of the heart of a just slaughtered head of livestock. After each one has wiped off the blood coming out of her cut with this, she sticks it in the mouth of the other. While this ceremony is going on, the speaker and the chief of Kahe affirm eternal friendship in the name of their people: they call upon God as their witness and pray to him that he might exterminate them if they do not maintain the friendship. Every conclusion of peace has as its consequence the obligation for mutual hospitality.

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/113 cont./

because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it: it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "el lenyeni" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

GN 352 M4 1910

The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous: if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

GN 352 M4 1910

It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (1).

GN 352 M4 1910

1. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as has been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. XII. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. See all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ those can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hollis is er-

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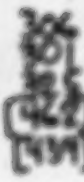

/116 cont./
the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire are made by the other Mawi women. The small chains of iron and copper wire are not made by the Mawi themselves, but are bought ready-made from the caoutchouc people or the neighboring tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Mawi in the service of the Europeans. -- Attitude of the Mawi living among his people toward the Europeans. -- The Mawi toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the women. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Mawi. -- Expression of countenance and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

/116 The most outstanding trait in the character of the Mawi is their national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it only for them. All non-Mawi are subject to the Mawi people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with Ngai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wear their daily load from the well in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Mawi as for his children, they need not worry "ni dakire ndai nidi" a work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Mawi take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Mawi, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by Ngai for the Mawi.

/116 In general the Mawi designate all non-Mawi as ai ngai ning, ai ngaik, a term that is to be translated as "unbelievers." /117/ The Mawi does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/PLI3 cont./

179 this and discovered to his sorrow that the cows had wasted away in
181 the last few weeks to the point of being unrecognizable. If he had
609 examined them more closely, he would also have found that they
822 had aged several years in the preceding month. But he had no
thought of any dishonesty of the people, whom he considered honorable and good, until after more than 100 of his finest cows had been exchanged for old, worthless ones and he had unexpectedly marked all of the latter. One could cite a whole series of such examples instructive for the settler, but here let there be pointed out only one particularly popular trick: When in the evening the livestock of the settler is driven to water, the native stock-owners -- both Kimmi and Negroes -- also like to drive their herds into the vicinity of this watering place. In the press and haste of the livestock for the water, these run into the herd of the Europeans, as intended, a few head of the cattle of the Black, who now, instead of taking his stock out of the strange herd again, moves off with a corresponding number of the settler's best cattle.

179 When the Kimmi servant who regularly invested his savings in
181 cattle has assembled a small herd, he often enough leaves service
964 in order to return again to his people. If an opportunity presents
609 itself, it may happen that he now serves his compatriots as a spy
822 against his former master. Uncircumcised youths who hire themselves out as boys return to their native kraals for circumcision, live there a few years with their contemporaries in the usual manner, and then often go back into service.

179 The Kimmi living in the tribe is and remains mistrustful of every
181 European whom he has not become intimately acquainted with
609 through the years. He regards the latter's leniency and forbearance
822 as weakness and believes that it is only because of a lack of strength and cleverness that the European does not oppress him just as he himself does his wife or his Negroes. He performs a service for the European only in order /118/ to have some -- often enough illegal -- benefits from it. If he concludes friendship with him, it is done merely for the sake of appearances and a momentary advantage. As one accused, he almost never confesses, even with guilt proved, but rather, asserts with profound indignation: "A Kimmi does not do anything like

/119 cont./
177 that" (1).
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1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an ol mōjī just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

[544] [326]

2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millenniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European expresses him only in such cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "ol kyeneni" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the guns of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this master race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

186 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai
181 in intercourse with his own kind. Dokirē ɛ́ɛ́ gunok eidai ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́

Lib Mother--900 G-5 (1890-ca.1910) 1910 PL13 Masai PL13

/301 cont./

539 the kraal for a short time, the foreign woman stuck the two children in a large wooden pot and threw it into the nearby river, which carried it far away. Then, both hands full of cattle blood, she waited in the hut doorway for the mother of the little ones and, when she came home, smeared her face with the blood and ran out screaming, accusing the other one of having devoured her own children. When the people saw the blood on the face of the one accused, they believed the accusation. The man divorced his wife and inflicted on her the punishment that she was to tend his donkeys until her death. Then he married the other woman. Meanwhile the two children had been adopted by a distant tribe. Children who were playing on the bank had seen the pot arrive, caught it, and carried it to their father. There the boys grew up to be warriors. One day a war expedition was undertaken against the Masai and these two were sent ahead as spies. In the vicinity of a Masai kraal they found an old woman who was herding donkeys. Since it is not customary for women to herd, they asked her why she was doing this work. Then she told them the story of her misfortune and the injustice done to her (1).

1. In Hollis, p. 197, the variation " and made themselves known as her sons." Ed. Masonnat.

When the warriors saw the hatred of the woman against the members of her tribe, they disclosed to her their plan and abandoned the existence of the old woman. After they had quickly killed the boys tending the livestock, they took a bell from the neck of a head of cattle and hung it on a donkey. They tied the latter very close to a tree so that it constantly cried out and rang the bell. The Masai in the kraal heard this and assumed that livestock and donkeys were peacefully grazing. In the meantime, /301/ however, the warriors had swept away with the herd and had taken the old woman along out of gratitude for her help.

539 /77/ 829 Finally there should be repeated a little story in which a Masai, returning from the Berliner Kolonial-Ausstellung /Berlin Colonial Exposition/ of 1896, told his countrymen about a custom observed there. He said: "In Germany little children do not get food from their mothers (as among us), but they are headed there like small livestock. On the street stand tables, and on these lie plates. When

Ith Mother--301 G-6 (1955-ca.1958) 1959 PLI3 Ideal PLI3

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the best of children arrives, the children sit down at the tables and eat. When they have finished eating, they are driven on." -- He had seen the pupils of a school, who were being conducted through the exposition.

Proverbs

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Mgri ei dalgani bengi ei ngani' ezie = There is not a human being who does not have his head. (Many heads, many minds.)

Mgri ei dalgani bengi dekio en dag' ezie nganingo = There is no human being who does not do his business according to his plan.

Ei dalgani nengio nedim ndekiire = The person who wants to, can do. (Where there is a will, there is a way.)

Ei ai tamana, ei ari nisi = A bad year, a good year is the same ei nambino follows rain.

Ei dalgani gumbio ñaré i ano kaio kero = A stupid person is heaven with little things. (One gets to a stupid one with trifling means.)

Ei jamata kumuk ng nisa = It is not good to have many friends.

Ei ari nisi kaio nendio ei tamana = A good year is followed by a bad one: in the same ei Pitde guenk before a fall.

Ei dalgani ngiro 'n dagi ngro ei jamata kumuk, ei dalgani kengiro 'n dagi ngiro kengi = A rich person has many friends, a poor person has nothing. (A friend in need is a friend indeed.)

Ei dalgamak gu nisio nisa, nengi jagi ningo 'n dagi = Few people are good if we want something (from them).

Tuzuba 'i gamsio ei dalgano' kaga, kaio nuduno ei ngani' ezu = Listen to everyone's advice, but follow your head.

Gallo dalgano' i ngamsa ngallo (ei) ezie kengi, gallo dalgano' i ngaduk nisio nyallo (ei) ezie nisa = One's own people know nothing, strange people know the worth. The proverb has the meaning of "No man is a prophet in his own country."

Ei dalgani nedidi nyallo ndalgio dalgani ngai i ei nedi i ezie = A weak person can conquer a strong person through his intelligence.

Alaa ezi 'n dagi, kai-dagi ei daa = First this mouth, then the food. (Work before pleasure.)

1A Marlen--494 G-5 (1950-ca.1960) 1951 PL13 Mawi PL13

/714 mss./

The Kenites of the Bible -- the Smiths of the Mawi

¶121 ¶171 326 624 The Bible mentions as the first blacksmith Tubal-Kain /Tubal-Cain/, the son of Lamech by his second wife, Zilla /Zillah/ (Gen. 4, 22). The name is made up of two words, the latter of which shall be discussed first. Kain /Cain/ is mentioned in two places in the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source: first Gen. 4, 1 as the eldest son of Adam and as the first tiller of the ground, and then in the same chapter, Verse 17, in the list of forefathers. In Gen. 5 the Priestly Document gives the table of the forefathers and in it calls Kain Kenan /Cainan/ (Verse 9), i.e., blacksmith. Now Kenan is the same word as el kenni (pl. el kennim) of the Mawi or kinigodeiharo /iii/ (pl. kinikodiiga) of the Tonga, among both of whom it also means blacksmith. The other part of the name, Tubal, we find among the Samal in cawili, among the Abyssinians in dabalawa, among the Galla in sama, everywhere with the meaning "blacksmith."

According to Gen. 4, Kain was a tiller of the ground and was ejected from his people, like the first blacksmith among the Mawi, who was also a tiller of the soil. The Mawi deepen the tiller of the soil so deeply that it is entirely in keeping with his way of thinking when God takes no notice of Kain and his thank-offering of the fruits of the earth, even though Kain may otherwise have been a good man and not -- as the Jahvist Document reports in Gen. 4 -- the first murderer.

The Jahvist /Yahwist/ calls the descendants of Kain /Cain/ Kenites (45 times /Numbers/ 24, 21, 22). We see here from passages in the Bible how low the Kenites stand in Israel's estimation. In Gen. 4, 11 the Jahvist relates that the curse of God is upon them when he describes how God curses Kain. In Gen. 15, 19 (Jahvist) the Kenites are mentioned as the first of the tribes that are to be destroyed by Israel, and in 4th Moses /Numbers/ 24, 22 /Jerusalem 24, 22/ (Jahvist) Bileam /Balaam/ sings "but nevertheless Kain must be destroyed." Thus, everywhere hatred and scorn against the Kenites, the very same feelings that the Mawi entertain against the blacksmiths, whether or not the latter practice their

/JEB cont./

for their father's recovery. Edouard did not go along, but stayed at home in the kraal. Meanwhile the father became much sicker, and since he felt that he would soon die, he called for 'L ol mwajel ae the /JEB/ eldest, in order to bless him. When Edouard heard his father's calls, he quickly cut up a guenbis and tied its parts on his chest, shoulders, and over his chassis. Thus he entered the dark hut and deceived his father, as Jakob /Jacob/ had deceived Isaak /Isaac/. Then, when the eldest brother came home and asked the dying father for his blessing, the latter aspired, but after the farmer had learned about Edouard's successful fraud from his father's lips. In accordance with the old man's last words, Edouard took possession of the inheritance. 'L ol mwajel, wronged, departed, but returned after a while with a number of warriors, in order to fight the deceiver. The latter, however, went to him amicably and offered him gifts and friendship, which 'L ol mwajel accepted, whereupon the quarrel was settled.

At first glance this legend appears to be identical with the one that is handed down to us in Gen. 25, 27 and 33, but the two versions show a very important, though to our feelings not so striking, difference that, from the Edouard point of view, immediately explains why Jakob's deed is not so sharply condemned in the Bible as one would expect. In the account of the Edouard, the three brothers were cattlebreeding nomads, while Gen. 25, 27 describes Esau as a hunter, whereas Jakob is a cattlebreeder. I have mentioned elsewhere in this study that the Edouard looks down with scornful contempt on the ol dembin. The same feeling, we may assume, that existed among the Israelites with regard to the hunters. For it is at least very frequent among the Semitic peoples (1).

1. I found it among the Abyssinians, Somali, Galla, Tuaregs, and the Arab.

Considered from this point of view, the tendency of the Biblical account is therefore, first of all, the elevating of the hunter by the cattlebreeder. I found a counterpart to this in the following story of the Edouard:

"In the primeval age, when human beings still nourished themselves on wild plants, God accustomed two brothers. He showed them

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the herder's staff and the bow and instructed them about the use of these things. Then he commanded them to cover their eyes with their hands. When they had done this, God held aloft the herder's staff and asked which of them wanted to have the thing held aloft. One of them peered through his fingers, recognized the herder's staff, and quickly answered in the affirmative. He became a cattleherder, while the other one, who had held his hands tight over his eyes and had seen nothing, became a poor hunter (1)."

1. At a later period, when the original reason for the woes of the entire had fallen into oblivion among the Maui, this story was amplified so that the entire ten were included. God then held three things in his hands: the herder's staff, the bow, and the hammer. Upon the question of God, the one who later became the Maui chose the herder's staff; the second, who here too peered through his fingers, but was older than the first, chose the bow, so that for the last one, who had seen nothing, only the hammer remained. Both this story and the one above exist side by side among the Maui today.

/324/ I hardly believe that I shall go wrong if I assume that, in place of the one story contained in the Bible, the Israelitish fund of myths originally knew two, which, in their basic features, corresponded to those of the Maui, and one of which merely represents a reproduction of a historical episode, while the other bore the character of a religious myth. That this character was preserved in the later joining together of the two accounts is shown by the Biblical interpretation, and, to be sure, most clearly by that of the Jahvist /Yahvist/ (1).

1. Gen. III, 17 to 24 belongs to the Jahvist.

10: Merker--436 G-8 (1950-ca.1960) 1810 FLIS Hanal FLIS

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This explains why the source of the Jahve Document did not put in the foreground the description of how one brother, through deception, deprived the other one of the right of the first-born, but rather expressed, with self-admiration characteristic of the Israelites -- as well as of the Ideal -- the mental inferiority and generally lesser quality of the poor, deprived burners in relation to themselves, the well-to-do cattlebreeders, in a form that pronated their own better lot as a result achieved through their superior mental quality with God's understanding. The source of the Elohim Document (E).

> 3. The presentation in Gen. 37, 1 to 48 is a fusion of the material contained in the Jahve and the Elohim documents.

on the other hand, seems not to have been familiar with the mythical meaning of the material and to have interpreted it merely as a description of an historical event. For that reason we also find here a disapproval of Jakob's /Jacob's/ way of acting in the verses 33 to 36 of the 37th chapter.

Furthermore, the similarity of the names Hanaké and Abraham is to be pointed out, the latter of which may have arisen from a similar sounding original name, as well as the corresponding characterization of the two among the two peoples they are rich in herds of livestock, intelligent, and pious. The latter is shown in the Ideal myth by the advisory position that Hanaké occupies in connection with the ei nikesi appointed by God. Furthermore both are distinguished by a very great age, as well as by the fact that they will marry at this age and that an heir is born to these old ones. A shift exists, however, insofar as in the Bible the mother of the heir is not Ketura, who married at an advanced age, but Sara /Sarah/, who was married already in her youth, but was barren until her 90th year.

In both traditions the circumstance that the heir was born to a father already of advanced age is not only mentioned, but expressly emphasized and motivated by a divine utterance. In Gen. 17, 16ff. God promises Abraham the birth of Isaak /Isaac/, and in the Ideal

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its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturists, the sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her strained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil exert/ are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A fusion=negroes race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and women experienced in agriculture.

In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also adopts the disadvantages that /this/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

We have seen how many difficulties sedentarism brings to the Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their first settlements again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to live by hunting, and call themselves this.

123 medical supplies. We had frequent visitors wanting "dawa,"
787 medicine, or a "sindano," an injection. The latter we could
[illegible] not provide (although we had a camp helper who stole a hypodermic syringe and for a time had a good business selling injections of water or anything else handy). We did serve as emergency hospital for various injuries, large and small. One warrior came to camp with his hand nearly cut in two. He refused to go to the hospital at Narok, so my wife somewhat reluctantly and dubiously repaired the damage. Several months later when we returned to that campsite, the same Masai came striding across the plain and proudly showed his healed hand. He was profuse in his thanks and wanted to bring us some goats and sheep as a token of his gratitude."

123 . The Masai greatly enjoy riding in a vehicle. They
• FL9 are willing to walk several miles just to have a ride. Whenever it did not conflict with our scientific work we made it a point to give them rides. These were often unfortunate but always interesting experiences. We learned much about the Masai from them and we became well known to the many villages involved.

123 The Masai's apparent acceptance of us as
FL1 essentially a part of the landscape is illustrated well by an incident in the southern Serengeti Plain. We had camped